Causes of the Great Strike.

BOTH SIDES OF THE CASE PRESENTED IN WHAT IS CLAIMED TO BE AN ABSOLUTELY IMPARTIAL MANNER.

A correspondent of the St. Louis *Republic* at Chicago has been to the pains of attempting an unbiased account of the cause and rise of the Pullman boycott and the American Railway union strike.

About 15 years ago George M. Pullman purchased 3,500 acres of ground in the vicinity of Lake Calumet, about 14 miles from Chicago. The city has grown and this entire tract is now embraced within the city limits of Chicago.

When purchased this land was bare, damp prairie. It was converted into high and dry territory. Architects and landscape engineers did their best to change the order of nature. On this tract of ground the Pullman shops were built on a larger and more comprehensive scale than any that had gone before.

The population of Pullman is about 12,000. As a matter of fact, about 65 per cent of the employes of the works live in Pullman, although they are by no means compelled to do so. These workers rent their homes of the Pullman company.

The so-called factory town usually carries with it an idea of grime and soot and filth and wretchedness. At Pullman there is almost no filth, and no squalor; but, on the other hand, neatness and order prevail everywhere.

It is a fact which, if the reader can appreciate, will give him the key to what Mr. Pullman has attempted. This fact is that a workman who is given surroundings of cleanliness and order, paid good wages and made happy and comfortable will turn out more work and better work than one who is placed where the opposite conditions obtain.

Every house and every flat, down to the very cheapest in rent, is equipped with modern conveniences and internal sanitation. Superb grounds for athletic sports have been made. Churches have been built. More than 1,000 scholars are in attendance upon a schoolhouse which is second to none in its appointments. The wage earners at Pullman have the use of a library of 8,000 volumes. A savings bank has been established which pays a good rate of interest, and a theater has been built which is an artistic gem.

The enterprise represented by the town of Pullman cost an amount of money which it is hard to realize. The land alone cost $800,000. It is now worth about $5,000,000.

AT PULLMAN TO-DAY.

To-day one finds at Pullman poverty. The strikers owe $70,000 of rent, for which they have not a cent to pay.

The story of the employes as to the cause of the strike has been gathered by conversation with them. In substance, gleaned as it is from a large number of lips, it is about as follows:

They say that the company prior to the strike made as much money as it always did from the rents of its houses and from its car shops and its other factories. The men maintain that this is borne out by a statement made in a pamphlet distributed last December by the Pullman company. "That the day is near at hand when the $30,000,000 present capital of the Pullman company will be covered and more than covered by the value of the 3,500 acres of land on which is built the town of Pullman."

Coupled with this was a statement that the $30,000,000 capital stock of the company had a market value of $60,000,000. Rents being an important matter for the company as profits from manufacture, the employes aver that the company has manipulated its wages, hours and selection of employes so as to give just enough work to enable the employes to pay rent. Some of the men declare that it has been the intention of the company to force its employes into debt or to use the savings of past labor upon which to live.

This the company denies point blank.

The men point out that the 2,500 sleeping, dining and buffet cars of the company were in constant service during the world's fair period without any other repairs than those absolutely necessary to keep them running. Nearly all these cars now need repairing; it was being done as fast as they could be brought in when the men struck. By the several cuts in wages which the company made, it was able at the time of the lockout to get work done, the men say, for from $2.25 to $2.65, which, in ordinary times, would have cost $4 or more. This represents an absolute profit to the company, by the cut in piece price and hourly rate of wages, but the loss to the men, they say, was actually about 30 per cent. more than this by the reduction of the hours of work from 10 to 7.

The allegation is freely made that by cutting wages the company saved from 40 to 50 per cent. in the cost of the work, much of which it would have to do anyway.

Mr. Pullman denies this.

By the cut in hours it was able to spread its work among enough people, so the men say, to keep all its houses fairly well rented and the rent collected.

"In spite of hard times, the company," said one of the strikers, "has managed to shift all the loss upon the operators; its own profits have not been affected. This has aroused a feeling of injustice and discontent. It has prevailed in Pullman for some time, and reached its culmination in the strike. As yet there has not been a suggestion of violence. The strikers hope that there will not be; and there will not if the leaders can control the men."

WHAT A STRIKER SAYS.

Another striker, who said that he was a skilled workman, when approached said that there was a system of paternalism at Pullman, under which it was very hard for a man to maintain his self-respect.

"The houses we live in," he said, "are owned by the Pullman company; the gas we burn, the water we drink, the clothes we wear, we buy from the Pullman company; and to such an extent are we controlled by the system here that it seems at times as if the very air we breathe we inhale by virtue of a sacred permission kindly extended to us by the Pullman company. The thing is almost intolerable. You may say what you like about the system, about the beauties of the town itself, about the money that has been spent to help the Pullman employes, about the advantages that they derive, about the schools, and the churches and the theater and the library and the other things that ordinarily are not characteristic of a great manufacturing town; but the fact remains that we feel here as if the effect of the system which subordinates everything and which brings it under one common control undermines and destroys the individuality of an employe. He ceases to feel that he is a man, with aspirations that he hopes some time to gratify. His ambitions are blunted. His future is narrowed, and finally he finds that he has gradually been crowded out of his manhood and that about the only thing for which he stands is an employe of his company."

THE COMPANY'S SIDE.

A statement was furnished by the Pullman company and in the course of this statement some remarks of Mr. Pullman himself are quoted, which he addressed to a committee of employes just prior to the strike. Mr. Pullman said, in substance, this:

"At the commencement of the very serious depression last year we were employing at Pullman 5,816 men, and paying out in wages there $395,000 a month. Negotiations with intending purchasers of railway equipment that were then pending for new work were stopped by them; orders already given by others were canceled, and we were obliged to lay off, as you are aware, a large number of men in every department; so that by November, 1893, there were only about 2,000 men in all departments; or about one-third of the normal number. I realized the necessity for the most strenuous exertions to procure work immediately, without which there would be great embarrassment, not only to the employes and their families at Pullman, but also to those living in the immediate vicinity, including between 700 and 800 employes who had purchased homes and to whom employment was actually necessary to enable them to complete their payments. I canvassed the matter thoroughly with the manager of the works, and instructed him to cause the men to be assured that the company would do everything in its power to meet the competition which was sure to occur because of the great number of large car manufacturers that were in the same condition and that were exceedingly anxious to keep their men employed. I knew that if there was any work to be let, bids for it would be made upon a much lower basis than ever before.

"The result of this decision was a revision of piecework prices, which, in the absence of any information to the contrary, I supposed to be acceptable to the men under the circumstances. Under these conditions, and with lower prices upon all materials, I personally undertook the work of getting of cars, and by making lower bids than other manufacturers, I secured work enough to gradually increase our force from 1,000 up to about 1,200—the number employed, according to the April pay rolls, in all capacities at Pullman. This result has not been accomplished merely by reduction in wages, but the company has borne its full share by eliminating from its estimates the use of capital and machinery, and in many cases going even below that and taking work at actual loss—notably, the 55 Long Island cars, which was the first large order of passenger cars let since the great depression, and which was sought for by practically all the leading car builders in the country. My anxiety to secure that order, so as to put as many men at work as possible, was such that I put in a bid at more than $300 per car less than the actual cost to the company. I can only assure you that if this company now restores the wages of the first half of 1893, as you have asked, it would be a most unfortunate thing for the men, because there is less than 60 days of contract work in sight in the shops under all orders, and there is absolutely no possibility in the present condition of affairs throughout the country of getting any more orders for work at prices measured by the wages of May, 1893.

"Under such a scale the works would necessarily close down and the great majority of the employes be put in idleness; a contingency I am using my best efforts to avoid. To further benefit the people of Pullman and vicinity, we have concentrated all the work that we could command at that point, by closing our Detroit shops entirely and laying off a large number of men at our other repair shops. We have given Pullman the repair of all cars that could be taken care of there. We have also carried on a large system of internal improvements, having expended nearly $160,000 since last August in work which, under normal conditions, would have been spread over one or two years. The policy would be to continue this class of work to as great an extent as possible, provided, of course, that the men at Pullman show a proper appreciation of the situation by doing whatever they can to help themselves to tide over the hard times which are so seriously felt in every part of this country.

"There has been some complaint made about rents. As to this I would say that the return of the Pullman company on the capital invested in the Pullman tenements for the last year and the year before was 3.82 per cent. There are hundreds of tenements in Pullman renting at from $6 to $9 per month, and the tenants are relieved from the usual expenses of exterior cleaning and the removal of the garbage, which is done by the company. The average amount collected from employes for gas consumed is about $2 per month.

"To ascertain the amount of water used by the tenants, separate from the amount consumed by the works, we have recently put in meters, by which we find that the water consumed by the tenants, if paid for at the rate of 4 cents per thousand gallons, in accordance with our original contract with the village of Hyde Park, would amount to about $1,000 a month. This is almost exactly the rate which we have charged our tenants, and this company has assumped the expense of pumping. At the increased rate which the city is now charging us for water, we are paying about $500 a month in excess of amount charged to the tenant.

"The pay roll at Pullman before the strike amounted to about $7,000 a day."

In its statement the company further says that on May 10, in response to the expressed wish of a committee of its employes, Mr. Wickes, the vice president, and Mr. Brown, the general manager, began a formal investigation at Pullman of complaints, which had been made at a meeting held the night before at Kensington.

THE STRIKE ORDERED.

The company understood that the men accepted the necessity of the situation preventing an increase of wages, but on the night of May 10, while the proposed investigation was pending, a strike was decided upon, and on the morning of May 11 about 2,500 of the employes quit work. As it was found impracticable to keep the shops in operation, no work has since been done.

After the strike had gone on for about four or five weeks the American Railway union held a convention in Chicago. During the weeks of the strike the condition of the strikers had, of course, gradually become worse and worse. A great deal of money and clothes and food was contributed to their support from one source and another. The weather was warm and they have not suffered from cold. Still, each day made their lot more miserable, and the longer the strike went on the more wretched they became.

It became evident that the only way in which the strike could succeed from the men's standpoint was to bring pressure of some kind to bear upon the company. This pressure was brought through the instrumentality of the American Railway union.

ARBITRATION REFUSED.

Before the union held its convention in Chicago a strong effort was made to induce the Pullman company to submit the question to arbitration. The men were anxious that this should be done. The company was approached by a number of different sources, but it steadily and consistently refused arbitration of any kind. Its position was that it really had nothing to arbitrate. Its men, it said, had left its employ. They left its employ after the company had done everything that it could do, consistent with its duties to its stockholders, to better the conditions of its employes.

In this condition of affairs the American Railway Union stepped in, and it is due to the action of the union that the bulk of railroads entering Chicago are virtually tied up. The union sent a committee to the Pullman company to notify it that unless it could come to terms of some kind which should be satisfactory to its employes the American Railway union would institute against it a boycott. The Pullman company refused to treat with this committee, and the boycott began.

THE RAILWAYS THREATENED.

It took a curious shape in view of the fact that the only questions at issue were questions as between the Pullman company and its employes. The railway union went clear outside of both parties cited and approached the railroads. It said to them, in substance, through a notification sent to the general managers:

"Unless you stop hauling Pullman cars the American Railway union will tie up your road."

This action introduced an entirely new element into the controversy. The railroads approached were, most of them, under contract with the Pullman company, by virtue of which it was obligatory upon them to haul Pullman cars. The action of the union sought to establish a principle that was thoroughly revolutionary. The demand of the union, if it were acceded to, meant that the railroads were no longer in position to handle their business as they saw fit. It was this aspect of the question that mostly concerned the railroads themselves.

In an interview the writer met the presidents of two of the largest railroads which enter Chicago. They said, in substance:

"We can never allow the principle to obtain that we cannot haul over our lines any kind of a car that we see fit to haul. The question as between the Pullman company and its employes has nothing at all to do with the question which is presented to us. If we accede to the wishes of the American Railway union in regard to the Pullman controversy, we must accede to other demands which the American Railway union may make upon us at any time. If Mr. Armour has any trouble with his men, or if any of the other packers have trouble with their men, or if the Adams Express company has trouble, or if the United States government has trouble with the men who handle its mails, or if any of the people, in short, with whom we do business have trouble, we, according to the principles which Mr. Debs seeks to establish, can be compelled to boycott any one of our customers. The principle is revolutionary. It can never be allowed to obtain. If it is allowed to obtain, the conclusion follows, logically and irresistibly, that there is no such thing in this country as a property right, but that the rights of free speech and of personal liberty have been carried so far that liberty has become license and property rights have vanished. We know whereof we speak when we say that the railroad companies whose lines enter Chicago will act together in this matter. The principle must be fought out, no matter to what it leads. Indeed, Mr. Debs has compelled us to act together, because he has said to us that it makes no difference whether an individual road accedes to his demands or not, the boycott will, nevertheless, be maintained until all the roads accede.

"Indeed, the American Railway union has gone even beyond the position indicated. It has instituted boycotts against the roads which pull the Pullman cars at all. It has instigated men who are in no wise engaged in railroad employment whatever to strike. It really seems as if the issue as between capital and labor had at last been brought to a head in the west, and as if it must be decided whether the people who own property can or cannot control it."

A CLERGYMAN'S ARRAIGNMENT.

At Pullman recently Rev. W. H. Carwardine, pastor of the Pullman Methodist Episcopal church, in speaking of the conditions of labor and the causes of the strike, said:

"Mr. Pullman is a man of the greatest financial ability and business capacity, and deserves the highest honor for his achievements in his palace car enterprise.

"But when Mr. Pullman, as a public man, stands before the world and demands that we regard him as a benefactor to his race—as a true philanthropist—I fail utterly to see the point. The facts do not warrant it. If he is all this, why doesn't Mr. Pullman, when he demands a cut of 33⅓ per cent. and more in the wages of his employes—which, on investigation, he would have found reduced them to severe hardship, and many to the verge of starvation—why does he not also reduce the high rents?

"Why, when he reduces the wages of his men, does he not reduce those of all his higher officials—managers, heads of departments, etc.? When he reduced the price of labor in the freight car shops from $14 and one inspector to $7 a car and three inspectors, why does he not get along with two less inspectors and spread their wages over the already reduced pay roll? Why did Mr. Pullman, in the midst of a hard winter, when the hours of work were few and short and the wages at the lowest ebb; when whole families were in want; when the local churches and charitable organizations were overburdened; why was it that the cry for aid was unheeded and no donations given?

"My criticism may seem severe, but I hold (with others) that the time has come when no man can be a possessor of vast wealth and be the head of a great corporation involving the weal and woe of thousands of men, and at the same time hold himself aloof from personal accountability to the general public and to the hundreds of human beings in his employ."

Mr. Carwardine spoke at length of the destitution caused by the strike and arraigned Mr. Pullman for refusing repeated solicitations to arbitrate and for remaining away in the East for so long. Mr. Pullman's professed indifference to the strike, he said, was strangely at variance with his avowed paternal love for his people in Pullman. Numerous examples were given by him of the way the wages had been cut from time to time until in some cases the men did not earn enough to pay the rent.

"The responsibility for the strike," said Mr. Carwardine in conclusion, "rests undoubtedly on the company. The employes struck only as a result of long-standing grievances.

"A long winter," said he, "with its countless causes for suffering and dissatisfaction, was behind them. They had been so ground down between the upper millstone of low wages and the nether millstone of high rents and the continued oppression of the straw bosses that they were in no condition to be trifled with by the company. They were promised that their grievances would be thoroughly investigated and that none of their number should be discharged. The company violated these conditions the next day. Three men were discharged and their grievances made light of."

VIRGINIA'S NATURAL BRIDGE.

"God's Greatest Miracle In Stone" and Colonel Parsons, Its Late Owner.

Col. Henry Chester Parsons, the owner of the Natural Bridge in Virginia, who was shot and killed by a railrod conductor last Friday, was one of that much maligned class of men known in political partance as "carpetbaggers." He was born in Vermont, and went south with the 1st Vermont cavalry at the outbreak of the war. He served with distinction, being severely wounded at Gettysburg. After the war Colonel Parsons settled in Virginia, and for many years had been prominently identified with the interests of that state, both commercial and political. He was an ardent republican and belonged to the anti-Mahone faction of the party in the Old Dominion. Originally a high protectionist, he enthusiastically endorsed the reciprocity ideas advocated by Mr. Blaine, of whom he was a warm admirers and close personal friend, and was one of the promoters of the Pan-American congress. His opinions were much sought in the national republican councils, and his opinions as to Southern politics carried great weight. He was a man of enterprise and industry, and was connected with many important commercial schemes in the state of his adoption. He became the owner of Natural Bridge 13 years ago, securing possession also of several thousand acres of land adjoining it. He built himself a home overlooking the great natural wonder, where people from all parts of the country have enjoyed his hospitality.

The Natural Bridge spans a mountain stream. Since its earliest discovery it has been rated one of the great natural wonders of the world. Since 1773 distinguished scientists and travelers from all parts of the world have journeyed thither and marveled at the great structure. The earliest mention of this bridge is in 1759. George Washington, when a surveyor for Lord Fairfax, visited it and carved his name, where it still may be found. The original Bridge tract was granted by King George the Third to Thomas Jefferson in 1774. After Jefferson became president he visited the place and surveyed and made maps and measurements. The next year he returned, bringing two slaves, and built for them a log cabin with two rooms, and directed that one room should be kept for the entertainment of strangers. A book of record, which he placed there, and in which he requested that visitors should inscribe their sentiments, was accidently destroyed in 1845, and only a few extracts can be found. Jefferson spoke of it as yet to be "a famous place that will draw the attention of the world." Marshall wrote of "God's greatest miracle in stone." Henry Clay of "the bridge not made with hands, that spans a river, carries a highway and makes two mountains one."

Paper Horseshoes.

"When paper horseshoes were first introduced into the cavalry service of the German army a few years ago they excited a good deal of interest," said Jacob Minotz of Berlin to the *Globe-Democrat*. "Several cavalry horses were first shod with paper shoes and the effect observed. It was found that not only did the lightness and elasticity of the shoe help the horse on the march, making it possible for him to travel faster and farther without fatigue than horses shod with iron, but that the paper shoe had the property of being unaffected by water and other liquids. These new sheets of paper pressed closely together, one above another, and rendered impervious to moisture by the application of oil of turpentine. The sheets are glued together by a sort of paste composed of turpentine, whiting, gum and linseed oil, and then submitted to a powerful hydraulic pressure. Paper horseshoes are also made by grinding up the paper into a mass, combining it with turpentine, sand, gum, litharge and certain other substances, pressing it, and afterward drying it. But these shoes are less tough and elastic than those made of thin sheets of paper laid one upon another. These sheets are fastened to the horse's feet either by mean of nails or with a kind of glue made of coal tar and caoutchouc."

Some Condensed Fire Escapes.

From the Ram's Horn.

All love asks is the privilege of doing its best.

If the heart is wrong, how can the life be right?

Sorrow is sometimes God's cure for selfishness.

The Bible does not command anybody to love a hypocrite.

If a man is selfish, getting married will not cure him of it.

To go into temptation is to run a willing race with the devil.

It is human to err, and human nature to say, "I told you so."

The hands that were nailed to the cross had no money in them.

The devil is the only one helped when a hypocrite joins the church.

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION.

Congressmen Air Their Learning In a Cloak Room.

From the Washington Post.

The group thought this a pretty good story to point a moral or adorn a tale.

"It is very apropos of my friend Quigg's case," remarked one. "You know he was elected to congress from one of the strongholds of Tammany, and as a general thing the political atmosphere of a Tammany stronghold is not very healthy for a republican who happens to represent it. A good deal has been said about Quigg's ubiquitousness on the floor. It has occurred to me that Quigg is in the same fix as the Missourian that Lacey has been telling about. He can't wait. He has to do all his talking while his grip is on the occiput of Opportunity. You know the saying about Opportunity being bald in front. So there is Quigg."

Some one of the party drew out a $5 silver certificate. Before anybody could pursue the discussion on the subject of Quigg the man with the $5 silver note diverted the current of debate to a grammatical proposition.

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"This bill," began the man who had flashed the evidence of his wealth upon the symposium, "this bill has upon its face this legend: 'This certifies that there have been deposited in the treasury of the United States five silver dollars.' Now, it's evident to any well balanced mind that this is a gross violation of the rules of grammar—"

"Doesn't the law require the deposit of silver dollars to the amount for which a note is issued?" inquired Quigg. "I thought everybody knew that."

"We're not talking about law, but grammar," said the first speaker, breaking Mr. Quigg off short. "The proper way to express this would be: 'There has been deposited,' and not 'have been deposited.'"

This precipitated a sharp debate, in which every authority from Murray to Cobbett was invoked. Shaw insisted that it was an elliptical sentence, in which the nominative was silent. Filled out, the sentence should read: "There has been deposited a sum which makes an aggregate of five silver dollars."

The majority, however, held the expressed nominative of five silver dollars to be good enough for them. It possessed an intrinsic value and was legal tender anywhere in the United States and convertible into gold on demand. There was no going back on such a nominative. It spoke for itself.

Money talks, and such an argument beats fine-spun theories of grammer seven days in the week. The man with the $5 note thrust it back into his pocket. Shaw was advised to brush up his knowledge of finance before he attempted to discuss problems of grammer in their relation to the silver question, and then the debate drifted into another channel.

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The word "status" is pronounced "stawtus" by Mr. Reed and "staytus" by Dr. Everett. By 90 per cent. of the house members it is pronounced "status" flat. The question turned upon the point whether "stawtus," "status" or "staytus" is right. Dr. Everett delved down through the Norman-French into Latin and bobbed up serenely from the depths of his etymological plunge with a verdict, elucidated by a learned disquisition, in favor of "staytus," which received also Mr. Shaw's approval.

"What is your authority for saying stawtus?" was asked of Mr. Reed.

"I evolved it from my inner consciousness," admitted the dethroned czar.

"Mr. Reed is right, too," said Dr. Everett. "He has authority for it in the continental pronunciation of Latin."

"It's one of those useful words that you can't destroy because you pronounce it two ways," observed one of the practical members of the group.

* * *

Such words as "costume" and "duty" were given out. There is a delicate New England way of pronouncing the u, which catches many an orthoepist who thinks the sound is double o.

"How do you pronounce the second day in the week?" asked Shaw.

"Why, Tuesday," was the reply in chorus, some giving it the "yu" sound and some the plain "oo."

"No," said Shaw, "you are wrong."

"Well, which is the right way?"

"Monday, of course," said Shaw. And it dawned on his associates that they had been grossly betrayed.

"But joking aside," began another member of the group, "who can tell me how the word castoria is pronounced?"

Everybody knew how to pronounce castoria. It couldn't be casto-ria, with the accent on the "i," and pronounced like the first syllable of 'island?" so it must be castoria, plain and simple.

"Do you know what physicians pronounce it?" asked the first speaker.

"No," everybody exclaimed in a chorus, "how?"

"Harmless."

"Oh rats!" And the listeners turned away in disgust.

The next word was "goup." Some said it was pronounced "gowp," some "goop," and some offered to bet a farm that, as there must be some peculiarity attached to the word which caused it to be so submitted to a test of experts, it should be pronounced "gope."

The man that gave out the word smiled a smile of sinister delight as he said:

"The proper pronunciation gentlemen, is 'go up.'"

* * * *

When the philological diversions of the group had reached this point, Dr. Everett, of Massachusetts, who had failed to comprehend the cause of so much levity, approached Colonel Shaw with an academical proposition.

"Shaw," said he, "do you know that your order (Shaw is a shining light in the Knights of Pythias) is at variance with the evidence of history in regard to the name you celebrate? It wasn't Pythias but Fithias who——"

"We know all about that," said Shaw, interrupting the doctor. "It was Damon and Fithias, and moreover, Damon was the hero of that little tale of fraternal devotion instead of Fithias. But by the time learned men of the order received initiation, the order had outstripped the facts in the case, and it was too late to do justice to Damon and also to Fithias, so we stick to Pythias."

"I understand Fithian of Illinois is a direct descendant of Damon's great friend; but like the Schwarzes and the Steins, his ancestors changed the name when they came to the United States," gravely observed one of the group.

Great Well

The great artesian well at Grenelle, France, has been flowing steadily without apparent diminution of volume for 32 years.